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WAR & PEACE

EDC is dead — Why it perished

By Tabitha Petran

THE cornerstone was knocked from under Washington's policy of preparing aggressive war—popularly known as the "cold war"—when the French parliament last week killed the European Defense Community by a vote of 319 to 264. The decision was taken in face of enormous pressure from Washington and Bonn and desperate maneuvres by Washington's friends in France.

EDC's collapse opens a new chapter in post-war history. This chapter will see real negotiations between W. Europe and the U. S. S. R. on the key problem of Germany. (The West came to the conference table in Berlin last winter but refused to negotiate.) The Soviet notes of July 25 and Aug. 4, proposing all-European and four-power talks on European security, had still to be answered when the French parliament acted on EDC. Reports from London, where deputies of the Western three have been trying for weeks to draw up an answer, indicate that no compromise has been possible between Washington's demand for outright rejection, France's desire for acceptance, British misgivings about the U. S. stand. Now the demands for talks with Moscow, with the voices of many powerful groups in W. Germany added, must prove irresistible however long Washington manages to stall.

The meaning of EDC's collapse is understandable only in terms of what it sought to accomplish. Few have studied or even read its 132 clauses. London's **New Statesman** (8/21) revealed that the treaty text was not available in London for more than a year after EDC's six members signed it in 1952. The treaty was drawn up in secrecy, its origins and aims shrouded in propaganda.

RESURRECTION OF FEAR: In 1918 the capitalist powers—motivated (as the records of Versailles show) by the aim of crushing revolutionary movements rising throughout Europe—ended World War I while the structure of

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Which window does Mr. Dulles usually come out?"

German imperialism was still intact. In 1945 these same powers sought to resurrect Nazi imperialism for the same reason; they were then more frightened, since much of W. Europe emerged from World War II determined to end the old war-making order and, particularly in France and Italy, organized to do so.

Long before the war's end efforts to save the structure and power of Nazism were under way, especially in the U. S. This policy was publicly unveiled by John Foster Dulles in January, 1947. It became official in the Marshall Plan; it took clear shape when then Secy. of State Marshall broke up the London Foreign Ministers Conference in December, 1947, and Christian Democrat leader Konrad Adenauer proposed that a rearmed W. Germany aid the West in the "cold war." Under Adenauer's direction, Rommel's chief of staff, Gen. Hans Speidel, drew up plans early in 1948 for German contingents in a European Army. Washington adopted this blueprint as the basis of its European policy. Such was the genesis of EDC.

THIS WAS THE EDC: Propagandized as a means of "controlling" a new German army, EDC's strongest supporters have always been the very nationalists, militarists and SS troops it was supposed to control. Understandably so, since its aims were strikingly similar to Hitler's:

- **To make W. Germany economically, politically, militarily dominant in W. Europe.**

Voting power in EDC's top councils is weighted according to size of financial and military contribution (Art. 43, #4). W. Germany is scheduled for a 500,000-man army as against France's 413,000 (Karl Schmidt-Wittmack, W. German Christian Democrat who just defected to the East, said secret EDC clauses granted W. Germany an army not of 12 but of 48 divisions). This and its stronger industry assure German domination. National armies are liquidated (Art. 10, #3). EDC councils will appoint the Supreme Command (Art. 31), fix military service terms, control recruit-

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"I have warned our friends and allies for a long time . . ."
French Premier Mendes-France (foreground) meets the press at the Quai D'Orsay

THE NATION

The record of Congress: Back to Harding-Hoover

By Lawrence Emery

"It could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly native American criminal class except Congress."
—MARK TWAIN

THE 83d CONGRESS, first in 20 years to be Republican-controlled under a Republican administration, on Aug. 20 wound up its work in a delirium and went home. The crimes it committed against the public interest in its two-year span will take years to undo. In its brief tenure, the 83d shifted U. S. domestic policy back into the channels dug by Harding and Coolidge and Hoover and canceled out most of the gains won under the Roosevelt New Deal.

Harding played poker while oilmen looted U. S.-owned oil reserves; Coolidge's major boast was that his administration gave Big Business a free hand and reduced taxes for the rich; Hoover presided over the collapse of the U. S. economy. There are elements of all three of these disastrous administrations in the Eisenhower regime and its 83d Congress.

RICH BLACK OIL: There is plenty of oil in this administration. Unknown quantities of oil money were behind Eisenhower's election, and it flowed freely in behalf of Congressmen who knew how to return a favor. Oilmen didn't have to steal this time; they bought and paid for what they got and it was all legal. Columnist Thomas L. Stokes commented:

"Oil, a heavy contributor to the Eisenhower campaign, got its pay-off in the first major bill of the Adminis-

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Needed: New approach . . .

BUFFALO, N. Y.

The political times are very bad all over the U. S. With the betrayal of our Constitution by the Humphrey-Morse-Lehman bunch a new school of thought on tactics for progressive action is, in my opinion, in order.

More and more as the trickery of "progressive democrats" shows itself, it makes one wonder why Gene Debs and Vito Marcantonio had to die. **W. S. Bennett**

. . . and new leaders

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

It seems as if the mortality rate among progressives is growing. Starting with our beloved FDR there's been an awful lot of them die and in each case it seems no one is quite able to replace them.

However, as one writer to the letters column indicates, we're about due for a change, probably of catastrophic proportions. I've been expecting it ever since the end of the war in Korea, and have been wondering what has kept business up. No doubt Wall St. is moving heaven and earth to stay up! But even so I think hell is about to open up any minute. Then, perhaps, new leaders will arise in line with the times. Let's hope so! **Al Amery**

Pennsylvania primary

PITTSBUURGH, PA.,

Your story re Eberharter-Cvetic is somewhat mixed up. Eberharter ran in Democratic primary, Cvetic in Republican. Eberharter won, Cvetic lost. **S. S.**

Adlai's "bi-partisans"

CHICAGO, ILL.

Adlai Stevenson's appeal to the French Premier for ratification of EDC presumes bipartisan support in the USA. The record discloses:

(1) A protesting witness at the Senate hearing, to the effect that 11 days after the signing of the treaty there was no printed copy available to the public though six months might be required for careful consideration. The hearings started two weeks after the signing. (Hearings. Executive Q and R, June 10-17, 1952, pp. 240-1).

(2) Not a full day of Senate "debate," July 1, 1952, in the rush to adjourn for the political conventions; a "debate" that was "without consideration," according to Sen. Dirksen, and with hardly half a dozen senators having read the treaty, according to Senator Watkins during the "debate." (Congressional Record, July 1, 1952, pp. 8867, 8877).

So this is "bipartisan support" of all the USA—for whom Mr. Stevenson presumes to speak! Have you written your congressmen to learn the cost of EDC? **Albert Bofman**

How crazy can you get dept.

A house of representatives committee has approved a bill which some house and senate members may not dare to oppose for fear of being misunderstood. . . . It authorizes the post-office dept. to use the words "Pray for Peace" as a postmark or cancellation stamp. . . . There is no indication that communists have had anything to do with inspiring this bill, but nothing that could be used as a postmark would fit more neatly into red propaganda.

—Spokane (Wash.) **Spokesman-Review, Aug. 11.**

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Clare Green, Cheney, Wash.

L. A.: Ormsby Benefit

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Jubilee Singers and Ernie Lieberman will be featured at a Benefit for Ormsby Village for Youth at the First Unitarian Church, Friday, Sept. 10. The Camp Director, Jean Wilkinson, Robert W. Kenny and others will tell of the splendid achievement in living democracy of the camp for 'teenagers where staff and campers of Negro-, Anglo-, Mexican- and Oriental-American background work and play together in creative harmony. Let's go. **Hugh Hardyman**

Capital of Turkey

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The picture and caption on page 6 of your Aug. 16 isue were rather distressing: "Street Scene in Istanbul, Turkey's Capital."

1. The capital of Turkey is not Istanbul, but Ankara.

2. I lived in Istanbul for 14 years and never saw a street like the one in the picture. It looks as if it might have been taken somewhere on the outskirts, under the old walls, and is about as representative of the place as a picture of, say, Delancey Street, would be of New York.

We expect those things in the Daily News. We're not too surprised when we find them in the Times. But they've got no place in the GUARDIAN. **Reader**

Apologies from the caption writer. The photo was a United Nations picture and we have at all times found them scrupulously accurate. Ed.

Where?

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I am herewith enclosing $3 to renew my subscription to the GUARDIAN as we must keep it alive and coming. My finances are at a low ebb, but the GUARDIAN has to be supported or our country will fall in treacherous hands and where will we the people be? **Henrietta K. Totten**

Don't get her wrong

LINCOLN, NEB.

I hatch out my own chicks with my own hens; even so they can't pay for the feed they've eaten—at 14 cents a pound for fries.

I have never had electricity, gas, or other modern contraptions. I use kerosene lamps, corn cobs for cooking, my only cooling system is the old cave, and it is deep and I am getting old. I do our washing on the old washboard, and it is getting so full of holes I had to solder it.

I never have used liquor or tobacco in any form, haven't been to a theatre in years, no new dresses in years, not a dime spent on hair-do's, I can nearly sit on it, never waste time or money on clubs, parties or other foolishness. And I'm writing this on a borrowed typewriter.

BUT—don't get me wrong! I am NOT complaining about any of these things, no sir! You see, I don't want one single American boy to be butchered anywhere in the world—just so I could buy all the modern trash that was ever invented, no sir!

I AM complaining because two of my sons are inmates of the Pentagon (slave) camps—just so my greedy, ignorant neighbors could keep their goofy TV sets.

In case of an "enemy" attack—just WHAT am I supposed to "defend"?—my neighbors' television sets?—when my sons have lost their freedom! **Phooey**

United front

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I am for progressives supporting progressive candidates, as opposed to candidates of either of the old parties. Are we to support witch-hunting or war-mongering demagogues? What matter if our vote IS small! What a challenge to speak out once a year at election time. To turn from the stench of political selfishness and corruption, to peer at lies of campaign promises—that has been the role of minority parties in all history.

A great battle is being waged in America today as to what kind of man will survive. Will the fascist, who jails idealists for political opinions, hires meanness, fires genius, goes to war for huge profits, survive? Or will the decent, true American prevail?

What a beautiful phrase "united front" is! Do let us have a united front—a united front among ourselves—standing together, speaking together, fighting together. Let the world see how hard and tough we are, that our faith keeps us alive, that the burning truth inside us cannot die. **M. U. S.**

Unenjoyable facts

MALTA, MONT

Can't say that I "enjoy" reading your paper. It deals mostly on things which should not be allowed to happen in our beloved country. However these are things more people should know about, and your good work deserves the support of one who is interested to know the facts. **George Durocher**

"He gave me sort of a conditional raise. . . . When hell freezes over."

Five edifying thoughts

BRONX, N. Y.

Allow me to put forth, for your edification, certain thoughts that occur to me.

1. New York is a filthy city because of an over-expansion of the printing industry. This results in the torrent of printed matter which floods the streets and clogs up the drainage system.

2. The paper looked much nicer as the wood in the trees in the forests, but it seems the people prefer lying newspapers, insipid literature and chewing gum (well wrapped).

3. Standing on the George Washington bridge and looking down on the flight of seagulls imparts a relaxing sensation. I wonder why?

4. Next time you see a row of smoke stacks jutting up from some town like a set of rotten teeth, bethink yourself of the Law of Entropy, according to which principle mankind is burning up the future at a ferocious pace.

5. I like your paper, it has wit. But you go a little overboard in having faith in "the people." Believe me, we the people are nothing but trouble. Any other beast, wild or tame, can be satisfied, but human beings—never! We're all right when we're drunk, but sober we're as treacherous as any snake in the grass. **Thomas Hunt**

The great parade

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.

NEWS ITEM: Suicide now ranks second only to heart disease as a killer in San Francisco.

Come out come out, don't die in your house,
Come out come out in the street,
Those who have taken our jobs must know
That we have nothing to eat.

We have the right to jobs and life
And this we must loudly say.
Anger and fear are precious gear
If we'll turn them the other way.

So leave the gloom of your silent tomb
And come where the marchers wait,
For this is the time of great parades,
And despair is out of date.

Malvina Reynolds

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"Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?"
—*JOHN MILTON.*

REPORT TO READERS

Cedric Belfrage's future — as you folks see it

THE MORNING AFTER LABOR DAY, the U. S. Immigration Service is scheduled to start presenting its case for the deportation of the GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage. This proceeding, initiated at the demand of Sen. McCarthy in May, 1953, has now been more than 15 months getting to the hearing stage. Belfrage spent a month on Ellis Island before an enlightened federal court order released him in $5,000 bail. The government spent months unsuccessfully fighting the bail order, then quit that fight and proceeded to the current hearings.

At this moment, on the eve of the hearings proper, Belfrage has received no bill of particulars, no list of the witnesses prepared against him. What the cost may be of exploding each such secret witness's story can only be guesswork, but we intend to rout out every perjury and blast every lie, and—since the government payroll now includes the biggest team of liars and perjurers in our history—the job can cost literally thousands of dollars, all needed in a hurry. You can't pay for counter-intelligence on the installment plan.

SO, WE MUST REPEAT again and again, the GUARDIAN and editor Belfrage need your help now to repel this attack on one of the very few remaining anti-fascist papers in America.

Many have already responded, many more have not (see p. 6 for a self-rewarding way to contribute). Meanwhile, we'd like to give you some excerpts of what those who have responded tell us in their letters:

LONG BEACH, N. Y.

Enclosed is my contribution for the Belfrage Fight-Back-Fund with my ardent hope that the lawyers who do the talking for Belfrage can make the fascists look silly enough to throw in the sponge, at least where he is concerned.

Perhaps we can some day survive this "crazy period" in our society, and live to laugh about it. Right now it is no laughing matter to see our land turned into a lunatic asylum by legislators who have the brains of the ape family. **M. S.**

OUTREMONT, QUEBEC

When I think of how I'd feel if the GUARDIAN succumbed, I am ashamed at my trifling offering. Perhaps the future will make things better all around **Gabriel Glazer**

OMAHA, NEBR.

All power to you in your fight for the freedom of the press! **P. R. Zedak**

HOLLISWOOD, N. Y.

Please don't ever stop fighting. The closer they get to complete insanity the closer we get to complete emancipation. **S. Krantz**

SEATTLE, WASH.

It's a hell of a note after running the government for 175 years we have to fight to get what was granted then and which we thought we had at this day and date. It doesn't make horse sense. It's the government's war on the people, that's what it is, a la Hitler and a la Chiang. **E. Pavitt**

HOW BIG a contribution do we expect?

Well, about a dozen people have written in apologizing for sending only $1, and one good old girl of the Golden West sent in 50c in stamps from an old-age pensioner.

So we'd like to counter-apologize if we have given any impression that crumpled dollar bills, stamps and coin are not enough to bother sending.

Make your contribution as generous as you can, to help out for the fellow who can't, but whatever you can spare, please send it along fast.

John T. McManus, for the GUARDIAN Staff

Eisenhower's broken record: Not one act in support of civil liberties

CANDIDATE Eisenhower and the Republicans in 1952 pledged legislation to outlaw lynching, poll taxes, and unfair labor practices against minorities. President Eisenhower last week in a radio-TV eulogy of the 83d Congress bragged about its outlawing the Communist party and "Communist fronts"; but he could not name one act in support of civil liberties or civil rights. The 83d Congress also

- Denied statehood to Alaska and Hawaii and voting to the District of Columbia.
- Allowed the Walter-McCarran law to stand untouched, despite Eisenhower's campaign promise to amend the law's "unfair" racial provisions.
- Failed to amend—as the President suggested when signing—a law granting states more jurisdiction over Indian affairs.

A LID ON LIBERTY: The Baltimore **Afro-American** (8/14) said:

"The record is clear that no action has been taken to fulfill these solemn promises (on FEPC, poll taxes, lynching). Members of a Senate subcommittee did go through the motions of holding hearings on the FEPC bill in the spring, but it was obvious from the first that they had no taste for the work. Word was passed down and no more was heard from it. We were told by platform framers who made these promises in July, 1952, that the Republican party will not 'mislead, exploit or attempt to confuse minority groups for political purposes' . . . but the harsh and ugly truth is that this Republican-controlled Congress has kept a tighter lid on civil rights issues and legislation than any other in the last 25 years."

Herblock in Washington Post
"Step lively, gents—next—OK, next—"

A fourth civil rights issue before the 83d Congress was jimcrow interstate travel. The Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People (**UP**, 7/28) asked the President to make a "clear and certain call" for Congress support of a House bill already approved by the Interstate Commerce Committee. Though assured by the NAACP leadership it knew he "personally" opposed jimcrow and that it believed he would support the bill, Eisenhower remained mute to the plea.

DOWN ON FEPC: American Jewish Congress counsel **Joseph B. Robinson** charged in a letter to the N.Y. **Times** (8/25) that the House Rules Committee kept that bill from reaching a vote, though

". . . this relatively moderate proposal raised no question of states' rights, since interstate transportation is plainly a matter of federal concern."

He thought the bill would have fared better "if it had had vigorous support from the White House."

As to FEPC, it had vigorous White House opposition. Eisenhower told a press conference (**NYT, 3/4**) he had made his opposition clear "many dozens of times."

The **Afro-American,** recalling that Congress must "provide the legislation which sets up penalties for violations" of Supreme Court rulings against jimcrow interstate travel and public schools, declared that unless Congressmen "vigorously work for . . . such measures they may not be able to get whole-hearted support when they seek re-election."

Congress' record

(Continued from Page 1)

tration—that handing over to coastal states ownership of oil-rich offshore lands. Oil got another 'bite' in the second session in continuation of its 27½ per cent depletion allowance."

The offshore giveaway is conservatively estimated at $300,000,000,000 for exploitation by private interests.

POWER GIVEAWAY: Private power utilities, which maintain the biggest, richest lobby in Washington, got theirs. The Administration and the Congress not only reversed a 50-year battle to protect the public against power trust greed, but voted in this session to hand over to private power companies the development of electricity from atomic power, the possibility of which resulted from the investment of $12,000,000,000 of the people's tax money. A 13-day filibuster succeeded in adding a few safeguards to the Administration's

Wall Street Journal
"I wish I had a nickel for every million we've spent."

atomic power bill, but the measure still stands as the biggest giveaway in U.S. history.

TAX HANDOUT: For the benefit of Big Business generally, the 83d Congress made the first major overhaul in 75 years of the government's tax policies; Eisenhower called this measure the "cornerstone" of his whole program. First the Congress ended the excess profits tax, which meant an outright gift of some $2,000,000,000 to corporations already making millions from the defense program; then it voted tax relief of $1,363,000,000 yearly for Big Business and rich individuals. Tax relief for low-income groups was defeated. Another giveaway was of synthetic rubber plants, built at taxpayers' expense. The Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** said:

"The adjournment of the 83d Congress should cause the American people to heave a sigh of relief. If it had stuck around much longer it would probably have given away to corporate wealth the few things, such as the Capitol building and the Washington Monument, that are left."

LABOR & FARM: Labor got a double kick in the teeth: the Taft-Hartley Act was not only retained on the books, but the Natl. Labor Relations Board, now stacked with a majority of Eisenhower appointees, is systematically toughening up the law through administrative procedures.

> **B-b-b-boo**
>
> Bob Hope and Bing Crosby will team up for a special show Sept. 26 in the Notre Dame Stadium at South Bend, Ind., for an audience restricted to employes of the Studebaker Corp. Program is intended as a "morale booster" for the auto company's workers who yesterday accepted a pay cut.
>
> —Variety, Aug. 13.

The Congress was as rough on farmers; it voted the Eisenhower-Benson program to end fixed 90 per cent price supports, replaced them with a sliding scale down to 82½ per cent this year, and to 75 per cent next year. In addition, most of the progressive farm policies worked out through the New Deal years were destroyed.

IKE'S HAPPY: Most moderately-liberal pledges made by Eisenhower while campaigning for election were betrayed and defeated. The N.Y. **Times** reported:

"In general, the more liberal of the President's proposals have suffered; the more conservative have everywhere prevailed."

But as Congress scattered home, the President was more cheerful and happy than at any time since he took office. He boasted of his accomplishments, told the country that Republicans should be re-elected on the basis of the 83d's record. This is more of the record:

HOUSING: Defeat of Eisenhower's modest proposal for 140,000 units of federal housing in the next four years; adoption of a plan for only 35,000 units in one year but with such restrictions that few can or will be built.

HEALTH: No adequate program offered; Eisenhower's piddling plan for a $25,000,000 federal fund to reinsure private voluntary health insurance programs was defeated.

SOCIAL SECURITY: The only domestic issue on which some moderate progress was made: coverage was extended to 10,000,000 additional persons, average monthly benefits were boosted $5.

"INTERNAL SECURITY": The most fascist-like bundle of bills ever enacted by a U.S. Congress—all of them sponsored or supported by the Administration.

FEDERAL EMPLOYES: Congress voted a 5 per cent increase in salaries; Eisenhower vetoed it.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY: Eisenhower points to Congressional "approval" of this project as a shining accomplishment; actually it is a fraud upon the people both of Canada and the U.S. (For Canadian reaction to it, see box, this page).

> Chicago Daily Tribune
> Tuesday, August 24, 1954
>
> **REDS INTERFERE WITH HIS GOLF, IKE LAMENTS**

STATEHOOD for Hawaii and Alaska: Both defeated.

AMERICAN INDIANS: First of a series of "termination" bills to free most tribes of their lands and holdings adopted.

CAMPAIGN ON: Last week the campaign for Congressional elections in November was on in full swing. The President was willing to stake all on the 83d's record. But to farmers and workers that record was appalling.

On Aug. 11 the AFL Executive Council said the 83d "has earned a vote of censure from the American people" because it "failed the workers, the farmers and the nation's consumers." President Anthony Valente of the AFL United Textile Workers called it the worst Congress since 1932.

The CIO's legislative department said that its record was "in the aggregate, contrary to the public interest," that the Congress had "defaulted in its responsibilities to the American people" and that "some of the worst decisions—taxes, offshore oil, farm policy—were the result of White House recommendations."

LABOR'S COURSE: The independent United Mine Workers Union in a Labor Day statement said of the 83d that "once again, it was a shameful record of billions for billionaires and handouts for the many" and added:

"Labor must recognize that its own independent course on economic and political matters is primary at this time and could influence the future of America for generations to come."

'For a mess of pottage'

LISTED by President Eisenhower as one of the great achievements of his Administration and the 83d Congress, the bill authorizing U.S. "participation" in construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway was nothing more than a bid by some U.S. steel interests to frustrate Canadian plans to construct the great waterway with U.S. aid, and to capture a maximum of control with a minimum of expenditure (GUARDIAN, 5/24). **Business Week** of June 12 wasted no words when it reported that once Canada "announced its intention of building all the navigation works itself . . . Congress . . . hastened to deal the U.S. in."

How Canadians feel about this Eisenhower legislative accomplishment was told in an editorial in the influential **Toronto Globe and Mail (8/16):**

"The St. Lawrence River is to all intents Canadian. But the St. Lawrence Seaway will be to all intents American. The heart of the seaway is the navigation works at the International Rapids. Those works, it now seems clear, are to be built on the American side, and ships using them will be under American jurisdiction.

"We have fallen far and fast over the last few months. First, the seaway was to be all-Canadian. Then, with the change of heart by Congress, it was to be built in partnership with the U.S. But this is no partnership that has been arranged at Ottawa. The agreement reached at last week's talks makes us not even junior partners of the Americans, but their humble servants, their grateful apprentices. Canada provides all the facilities which will make the American seaway effective. And in providing them, Canada takes upon herself the greater part of the total expenditure. We pay the piper, they call the tune.

"Why has Ottawa backed down like this? Why did it not tell the Americans that the terms offered were totally unacceptable? We are informed that this is an election year in the U.S., and the Eisenhower Administration needs to take credit for getting the seaway started. What business is that of ours? We are informed that U.S. participation on the present basis will save Canada some $100 million. Is that the price we put on our national pride?

"The present Canadian Government has done a great many inept things, but this looks like the most inept of them all. It has done a great many dishonorable things. But this is the worst one yet. After all the fine words that were spoken, after all the high hopes that were aroused, our leaders have emulated Esau, and sold the nation's birthright for a mess of pottage."

LABOR

Skirmishes begin as showdown shapes up between unions and big corporations

BIG industry, always rich and sassy, now is getting bigger, richer and sassier than ever. Some corporations seem about ready for a rough try at resurrecting the good old days of the pre-New Deal era. With Big Business running the Eisenhower government, with Eisenhower appointees on the Natl. Labor Relations Board rewriting labor legislation in favor of employers, and with a new union-busting law on the books, many a company is flexing its muscles at its workers. Dr. A. L. Lewis, publicity director of the CIO United Rubber Workers—which just went through the longest strike in its history—recently cited the dominance of anti-labor personnel on the NLRB and said:

> "From that period on, a new attitude was clearly apparent at the bargaining table. Where heretofore an acceptable degree of harmony existed, the new look altered that atmosphere very materially. The national hostility generated by the new Republican Administration toward wage-earners quickly caught hold of corporation officials."

He described the treatment given union negotiators by officers of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.:

> "Their efforts were met by the most insulting exhibition of indifference, contempt, condescension, sarcasm and derision that rubber workers have endured in 20 years."

"A NICKEL YEAR": The opening skirmishes in what may develop into a knockdown test of strength between employers and organized labor are now being fought.

When the powerful United Steelworkers earlier this year accepted a 5c-an-hour wage increase plus some fringe benefits, it was regarded by Big Business as a pattern-setting move and 1954 was termed "a nickel year" for wage boosts. But many employers thought it was better than that; some were unwilling to grant any increase at all, others went further and demanded wage reductions.

There have already been some wage cuts, notably in the textile and auto industries; these have encouraged most employers to resist demands for increases. Since the "pattern-setting" steel agreement, some unions have received smaller increases than established there, some have gotten a little more. But whatever the increase, smaller or greater, most have had to be won by battle.

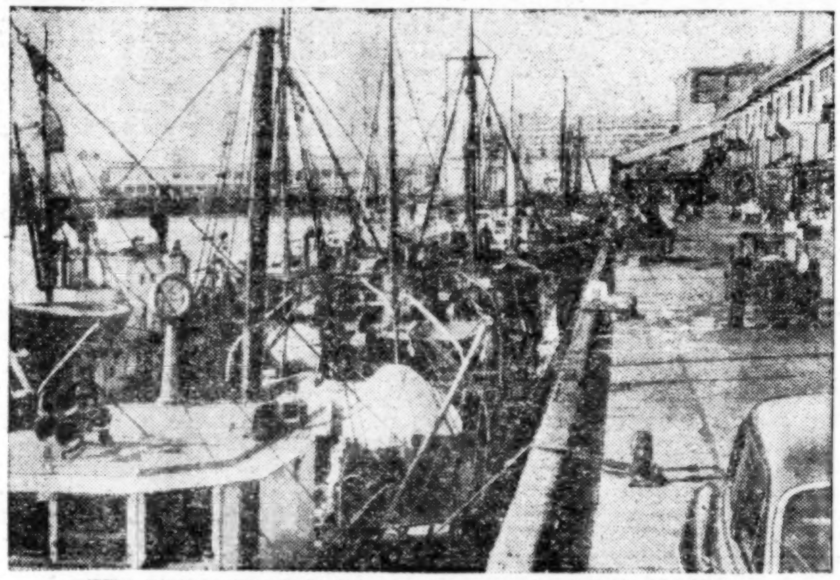
LUMBER & RUBBER: First big strike began June 21 in the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest. CIO and AFL unions in the field, rivals in the past, teamed together on a demand for a 12½c-an-hour increase; most lumber operators offered no increase at all. The strike covered an area comprising Northern California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho and involved more than 100,000 workers. It was bitterly fought and its final results are inconclusive; many locals won their full demand from smaller companies; others went back to work with no increase in pay but with other gains. On Aug. 28 the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Co., biggest of them all, settled with its CIO strikers for a 2½c-an-hour increase; it was reluctantly accepted only because Weyerhaeuser alone in the industry granted a 5c raise last year.

On July 8 the United Rubber Workers struck Goodyear Tire & Rubber involving 30,000 workers in ten plants, on Aug. 12 called out some 25,000 more in Firestone. Between these dates a scheduled strike against the U. S. Rubber Co. was postponed while negotiations continued. The Goodyear strike ended Aug. 27 after 51 days; average hourly gain was 6c, with boosts in some plant differentials up to 10c. Next day the B. F. Goodrich Co. signed an agreement granting an average 6½c-an-hour increase for 15,000 workers in nine cities. General Tire & Rubber, Seiberling Rubber and U. S. Rubber were expected to follow suit. On Aug. 23 Firestone was still on strike. Original union demand in Goodyear had been for a 7½c raise.

MINERS & PACKERS: The independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers rejected industry "package" offers which included pay increases of only 4c and 5c an hour, demanded up to 25c plus fringe benefits. On Aug. 16 Kennecott Copper was struck; on Aug. 23 the big Anaconda Co. was called out. AFL craft unions backed both strikes. Kennecott settled on Aug. 28 but details of the agreement were withheld until ratification five days later; reports were that it granted a 5c pay boost and 4c an hour in other benefits. On Aug. 30 the union was reported settling with the American Smelting & Refining Co. for a 6½c-an-hour increase plus fringe benefits. Last week Anaconda was still struck.

Next big fight is shaping up in the packing industry where contracts with major companies expire at the end of this month. The CIO United Packinghouse Workers has taken a strike vote and there is an agreement for joint action between it and the AFL Amalgamated Meatcutters & Butcher Workmen. One UPW local reported that Armour & Co. asked it to accept a 7c-an-hour pay cut, but the union is demanding a substantial raise, a 35-hour week with 40 hours pay, a guaranteed annual wage, improved fringe benefits.

Under Eisenhower, even a "nickel year" has to be fought for.



THE SMELL OF FISH WAS GONE FROM BOSTON WHARVES

The city's famous fishing fleet remained tied up last month as the result of a strike by crewmen protesting a cut in wages. Union leaders blamed Canadian imports for the low price of fish (was it reflected at your market?), went to Washington for relief measures to get the fleet back out to sea.

Fashion notes for the working girl

NEW YORK — Originala creates some wonderfully versatile coats. . . . Wear the vicuna side out and one has a fabulously simple coat for arriving at the office. Reverse it when a day of toil is over and one is stunningly garbed in a fabulously smart fur coat. The price of this dual purpose work-or-party coat is $10,000, plus tax.

—San Diego Union, July 14.

UN DISMISSAL CASE

Keeney contempt conviction is upset

THE U. S. COURT of Appeals on Aug. 26 reversed the contempt of Congress conviction of Mary Jane Keeney, former UN employe, and ordered a new trial.

Mrs. Keeney was fired after two years' work in the UN by the then Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie, who dismissed 12 other American citizens employed by the UN when they refused to answer questions about their personal political beliefs before Congressional committees. Most of those fired by Lie were later granted compensation by the UN Tribunal, and the Intl. Court of Justice at the Hague recently declared the Tribunal's verdict consonant with the UN Charter. The final decision will be made at the next General Assembly opening Sept. 21.

In 1952 Mrs. Keeney refused to tell the Jenner Senate Internal Security subcommittee whether anyone in the U. S. State Dept. helped her get her UN job, because UN regulations forbade disclosure of such information. Later, however, she did answer the question upon being released from the original instructions and did not invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment. She was fined $250 and given a suspended jail sentence.

NOT FOR THE JURY: The 3-member court reversed Mrs. Keeney's conviction on grounds that trial judge Alexander Holtzoff had erred in permitting the jury to hear testimony "highly prejudicial" to the defendant.

Declaring that she was "naturally gratified" by the court's decision, Mrs. Keeney explained that the reason she had declined to answer the question asked her by the Senate Committee

> ". . . was that I believed, just as Gen. Zwicker evidently believed two years later when testifying before the McCarthy committee, that I was bound not to answer, not by personal choice but by a decision taken by a higher executive authority [and I] did answer later upon being released from the original instructions."

The Justice Dept. has not decided upon an appeal to the Supreme Court.

What will happen to life on earth if atomic explosions increase?

A letter to the GUARDIAN from Sweden has expressed fears often heard in the U. S. about the after-effects of atomic explosions. The editors asked Dr. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist of Ithaca, N.Y., to comment on the letter from Sweden. The letter and his reply follow:

LJUNGAVERK, SWEDEN

What would happen to life on earth, in this age of A-bombs, H-bombs, cobalt bombs and robot rockets, if many atomic explosions were made in a war or in the testing of these weapons? What would happen if these bombs were exploded in the upper atmosphere, where the ozone layer now protects the earth from the destructive rays of the sun? There is reason to believe that the ozone layer would be destroyed and that the harmful rays of the sun would kill all life on the earth within a few minutes—before enough protective ozone could be reformed!

Ozone is found in nature, being formed by the action of sunlight on the oxygen in the cold, dustless, upper layers of the earth's atmosphere. A careful examination by scientists has shown that the height of this ozone layer is about 25 km. (15 miles), the total sum being enough to form a layer about 3 mm. (1/8 inch) thick at atmospheric pressure on the surface of the earth. H. N. Russell (Nature, 1935) says this layer of ozone is as opaque to the light of the death-dealing sun's rays as three sheets of gold metal leaf. Only a small amount of ozone is found near the earth's warm dusty surface.

Ozone loses its protective properties against the destructive rays of the sun when it combines with other materials (dust), or changes to oxygen which is non-protective. At ordinary temperatures ozone decomposes to oxygen very slowly, but at 100 degrees C (boiling point of water) very quickly; and at 300 degrees C (a candle flame) immediately.

The decomposition of ozone is greatly hastened at lower temperatures by metals and other substances, especially in dust form. Even silver, not attacked by oxygen, quickly reacts with ozone. The earth's protective ozone layer could be destroyed, and all life on earth with it by tremendous heat of bombs and, even more, destroyed by the tremendous amounts of radio-active dust spread over the earth in the ozone-rich upper atmosphere.

The dark (night) side of the earth, which may not be immediately affected by the scorching rays of the sun, would be afflicted with tornadoes, typhoons and cyclones. As the last burning sunrise breaks on this wild turmoil, the remaining life on this agonized planet would cease to exist in a Hell of our own making.

Dr. & Mrs. Charles O. Bostwick

ITHACA, N.Y.

There seems little substance in this fear. The ozone of the upper air is constantly being formed by sunlight. If dust from explosions were to remove much ozone, more would quickly form. Only if most of the oxygen were to be removed from the air could this process of re-forming the ozone be stopped. The amount of dust thrown up by such explosions is large, but it is not unprecedentedly so, and it is less than that thrown up by volcanic action or by forest fires. The special radio-active nature of the dust, which makes it so easy to detect, has no special relevance for the ozone; indeed, it might tend to make a very little bit more ozone by its ionizing effects. The mushroom cloud is often accompanied by the characteristic odor of ozone. Upper-air explosions, with only the bomb residue for dust, would have little effect.

The heat of the bomb has no large-scale effect on the upper atmosphere which, by the way, is not so terribly cold in the ozone-rich regions, from say 12 to about 20 miles above the surface of the earth.

As often before, I must repeat that it is the intended, and not the accidental, consequences of atomic explosions which impel me to fear.

The problem is not technical, but political.

Dr. Philip Morrison

OTTO JOHN'S OWN STORY — II

Man makes war — and can stop it

This is the concluding half of the statement made by Dr. Otto John, former head of the West German Security Service, at a press conference in East Berlin on Aug. 11. In the first half, printed in last week's GUARDIAN, Dr. John told of the developments which caused him to follow the "voice within him" and leave W. Germany: the fact that the Adenauer government has become "a tool of American policy in Europe"; the return of the Nazis to positions of power in the Bonn government; the preparations in W. Germany, under Washington's guidance, for another "crusade against the East."

WARS DO NOT break out of themselves—like storms. They can be and are always made by man. But that also means that they can be prevented by man. We Germans have a vital interest in preventing a new war from breaking out in or over Germany. . . . The one-sided attachment of Germany to the American "policy of strength," which Dr. Adenauer pursues, will lead inevitably to a new war on German soil. From such a war all that can possibly be left of Germany is a wasteland of radio-active dead soil.

The whole of the western world was infected with fear psychosis first by Hitler and now by the U. S. A. Hitler already confused, frightened, deceived and finally overpowered the German people with this fear of communism before he took over power. By holding up the horror of communism Hitler justified the attack on Russia, thus supposedly warding off the supposed imminent attack of the Red Army. We are living today through the results of this act of heroism—and that of his field marshals.

But Hitler's and Goebbels' legends about the dangers of Bolshevism are just as alive today in West Germany as in 1933 and 1941. They are of course a welcome means for Adenauer and the rehabilitated Nazis to mislead and frighten our people exactly as in 1933.

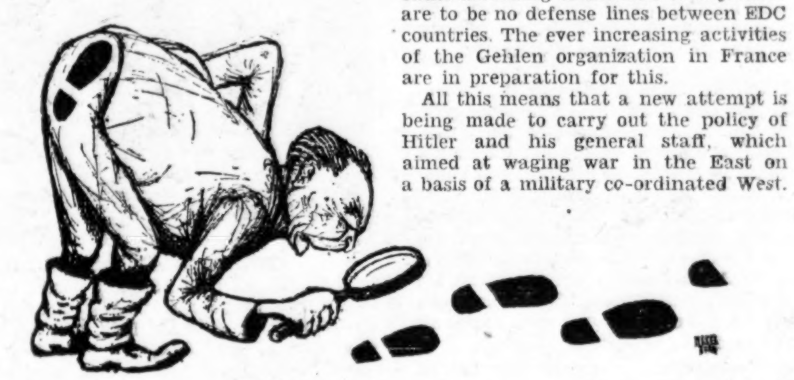
LAYING THE GHOST: In order to lay these legends and to stand up openly against this hysterical fear psychosis, I have come myself into the midst of this fearsome, frightening communist world. Not a hair of my head has been touched or will be touched. All those who have always been or are again frightened by the fearful ghost of communism and persist that Hitler was right, can believe me in this. . . .

War can still be prevented if we refuse to carry out the American plans. However, it is also necessary to reveal the background of the Bonn rearmament policy. Dr. Adenauer and those militarists who are still working in the background see in EDC merely an instrument to build up a strong German Wehrmacht which will sooner or later, through its practical preponderance, absorb the other EDC contingents—including the French army—so that France and W. Europe will once more be delivered up to German militarism.

If this aim is achieved, then the EDC treaty will be torn up in the fashion we know so well. General staff officers, like Colonel von Bonin, hardly bother to hide this any longer.

SECRET EDC CLAUSE: I will make no secret of it and declare here openly that a number of German generals, who have learnt nothing from the past, want to make tactical use of EDC by transferring German units to other EDC countries to reduce these countries to subservience. This is absolutely within the realms of possibility, because according to the EDC treaty there are to be no defense lines between EDC countries. The ever increasing activities of the Gehlen organization in France are in preparation for this.

All this means that a new attempt is being made to carry out the policy of Hitler and his general staff, which aimed at waging war in the East on a basis of a military co-ordinated West.


Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

ADENAUER'S SEARCH: "DR. JOHN, I PRESUME?"

Because I was exactly informed about this I could no longer stay in W. Germany without being further involved and thus making myself guilty before the German people.

This game is deadly dangerous for Germany and can only end in a new catastrophe. In order to prevent this, I spoke with M. de Noblet, a Frenchman who is engaged in working for an honest understanding with a truly peaceful Germany. In order to ward off the threatening danger I intended also to speak with M. Mendes-France. Now I can only hope that the French people recognize the real significance of EDC and that a real German-French understanding will finally be reached.

But the German people have above all the right to a correct and complete statement from the W. German government about the aims of EDC. And that has so far not been made. Dr. Adenauer repeatedly and emphatically stated in his radio address that there are no secret clauses to EDC. I declare, on the contrary, and on the basis of my knowledge as president of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, that there are secret clauses to EDC which Adenauer tries to keep secret. I hereby demand that Dr. Adenauer immediately make these known to the Federal Parliament and to the German people.

THE TASK IS PEACE: If we wish to live, our task is to set up again by peaceful means a peaceful Germany between East and West. It is simply inconceivable that the German people have not managed to get together nine years after the war and that they take the partition so casually and as a matter of course, like the difference between day and night.

I know, as you all know, that there are in all strata of society and in all political parties in the Federal Republic people who really long for the reunification of our fatherland. I know that our economy, if it is to survive, needs exchange with the East.

Everything depends now on the active co-operation of us all in East and West to bring about mutual talks, in order to make an end of the impossible situation created by the partition of Germany. This is the task to which I shall now devote myself.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"But what happens, Herr Baron, if you and your beautiful new army have a spiritual crisis, and do a Dr. John?"

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

ing, select and train officers (Art. 12, #73, 78); determine member states' military budgets (Art. 87) and what arms and munitions they may manufacture and import (Art. 107, #1); and insure each one's "most effective use of technical and economic potentialities" (Art. 102). In short, member states lose control of economies and industries to the German-dominated EDC councils.

- **To use German troops to crush democratic movements in W. Europe.**

EDC forces are to be stationed in territory of member states by EDC decision "in the event of disturbances or threat of disturbances" (Art. 12), and any movement of European forces is to be entirely in EDC hands. The importance of this provision, which would permit use of German troops to put down strikes or threat of strikes in France and Italy, was dramatized at the Brussels conference when the five ministers turned down Mendes-France's proposal that W. Germany's army be forced "to stay within its own boundaries except when granted permission by other EDC nations to set foot on their soil." This was rejected (**N. Y. World Telegram**, 8/29) because it "would destroy the meaning of the treaty."

- **To block any move by any W. European country to establish normal trade and other relations with E. Europe.**

Art. 121 forbids member states "to assume international obligations incompatible with the present treaty," and Art. 4 demands they act only "in co-operation with free nations." The **Wall St. Journal** (8/17) pointed out that for Washington EDC's chief aim as regards W. Germany was to block any Bonn deal with Moscow, for "the Germans would be much less free to pursue a neutralist policy with it [EDC] than without it."

THE BREAK: Washington's failure to fit W. Europe into this straitjacket marks a historic turning-point, although an abrupt break in relations with its allies is unlikely. Its efforts to rearm W. Germany within the Atlantic Alliance will continue with more or less help from W. European statesmen.

But EDC's removal clears the way for the basic reforms, blocked by the U. S. after the war, and the tides which are slowly carrying W. Europe out of the Washington war alliance. Alternatives to EDC, so glibly prophesied, must eventually be broken by these trends:

A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL: The weakness of France was apparent in the fact that its industrial production was only slightly higher than in 1929. Its future as an independent state lay in basic economic reform and revival of its traditional alliances with Russia and E. Europe—policies only realizable by a government in which the working class would play a real role.

Escape from EDC is a first step down a long, hard road in that direction. So is the revival of France's trade with the U. S. S. R., which has surpassed all expectations. Soviet exports to France since the July, 1953, trade pact already exceed the 20 billion francs Russia was to have shipped over the pact's entire three-year period; French exports to Russia have jumped roughly 600%.

W. GERMAN NEUTRALITY? EDC's collapse, said **WSJ** (8/17), might turn W. Germany "into a neutral between East and West." Two trends were developing. **Business Week** (8/21) described them as "a growing preoccupation with German unity and a growing demand that the German government make its own decisions . . . [on] diplomatic and trade relations with the Communist bloc," and "a wave of strikes" showing a new spirit in German labor.

The Western Three may, as promised, grant Bonn "sovereignty" under the Bonn treaty; but this limited "sovereignty" (occupation troops and bases remain) will not satisfy W. Germans, who increasingly realize the "Western allies have no solution to the problem of German unity" (**BW**).

THE TIDE IN BRITAIN: Resolutions to be presented at the annual conference of the Labour Party (which won a popular-vote majority in the last elections) show overwhelming opposition to German rearmament in or out of EDC; strong support for the Attlee-Bevan trip to China; and growing demands for ouster of U. S. bases and troops from Britain. Churchill's government cannot ignore these sentiments.

POLES OF ATTRACTION: Ironically, the A- and H-bombs with which Washington expected to assure its domination have enormously accelerated the breakdown of its policy. The H-bomb, as British physicist P. M. S. Blackett pointed out (**New Statesman**, 8/28), ended W. German dreams of achieving unity by war. Unity becomes possible now only by agreement with the U. S. S. R. The end of the U. S.'s air-atomic superiority, now beginning to be conceded even in the U. S., strongly suggests (**Christian Science Monitor**, 8/26) "that the tides of power will pull more strongly from Moscow in the next few years, and that W. Europe will be attracted more and more to the Soviet hegemony."

This gravitation can be offset, CSM maintained, only by "U. S. leadership." But "U. S. leadership" is today as great an illusion as the atomic myth that is dying. Wrote William Philip Simms from France to the Scripps-Howard press (8/23):

> "The U. S. is about as popular in Europe today as Hitler's Germany was in 1938-39 . . . and unless there is a drastic change, things stand to get worse rather than better."

Drawing by Dyad, London

"And they wuz drinkin' Chinese rice wine . . . how disgustin'."

Wall Street Journal

"I wonder how long it will take us to invent an H-bomb again?"

PORTRAIT OF AN UNDESIRABLE ALIEN—II

Sort of a man you'd trust with your life

By Frank Scully

Frank Scully, author of this two-part article on the GUARDIAN's editor, is a columnist for the show-business weekly Variety *and author of the best-selling* Fun in Bed *books. In the first installment (GUARDIAN, 8/30) he confesses that he is "the guy most responsible" for Belfrage's present plight, having suggested him for service with the British government. He also tells of a visit from an Immigration Service investigator about Belfrage, and goes back to tell of Belfrage's early days in Hollywood. Part II follows (reprinted from the* California Quarterly*)....*

CAME the war and I found myself caught in New York. I became natl. director of Victory Centre which was a clearing house for war-winning ideas that might shorten the war by even a day. One night I was in the company of John Foster, general counsel for the British Embassy, and it wasn't long before I was sounding off on how one of Britain's minor problems could be solved. We were discussing the question of public relations, and since we were now allies in an anti-Nazi league much larger than the one I belonged to in Hollywood, I said to Foster:

"I happen to have a friend in Hollywood who was born in England, educated at Cambridge. But he has done an almost unforgivable thing. He has taken out his first papers for American citizenship. At any other time in history I wouldn't suggest this, but right now this seems to be the right guy, with his heart still in England and his head in America, to cure your public relations headache in this country."

Within three weeks Belfrage, his wife, his children and his second-hand car were all transported to New York and he was installed in Rockefeller Centre in the British Information set-up.

MY ERROR: Now this is where I, at this late date, think I made a terrible mistake in helping a friend, because it shelved for several years all possibility of Belfrage's going through the mill of his American citizenship and completing what he started out to do. I wish there were a way to get me off such a hook and for authorities to award him a citizenship in plain gratitude for what he did at the time he did it. But instead he was shipped overseas and given the task under Gen. Eisenhower of screening Nazi journalists after the war. This kept him away from these shores so long that he would have to begin all over again to become a citizen.

In gratitude for my having helped them acquire Cedric Belfrage, the British Embassy threw me a week-end party in Washington.

(Scully sat at a table with Ambassador Lord Halifax, who carried Scully's food since Scully uses elbow-crutches; Scully cut Halifax's meat since Halifax had a shriveled hand. Speaking to Halifax about the attempt to deport Harry Bridges, Scully said: "They have to deport him. He's an honest labor leader. You can't do business with a guy like that. Business is a matter of give and take and this guy won't take.")

GUARDIAN DAYS: The next time I saw Cedric Belfrage was after the war when he had started **The National Guardian.** I thought it was to be a revival of Oscar Ameringer's **American Guardian,** which was a hard-hitting, good, liberal weekly published in the middle west, but which had died with Ameringer himself.

THIS WAS AN HISTORIC DAY IN POST-WAR GERMANY
In the office of U.S. Military Government in Frankfurt, Germany, the first contract to distribute a German-licensed newspaper through the German post office was signed on July 25, 1945. Six days later the Frankfurter Rundschau, *with a press run of 400,000, was on the streets with its first issue. This was the first licensed newspaper in the U.S. zone, and Cedric Belfrage had a large part in launching it. In the photo (l. to r.) are Wilhelm Karl Gerst, Catholic chairman of the board of Rundschau licensees, later fired as a "communist"; Lt. Col. James G. Chesnutt, district press-section chief; Belfrage; (seated) Maj. Oscar D. Cully of MG.*

John McManus came over after Marshall Field's **PM** folded, and they were joined by James Aronson of the **New York Times.** It was touch-and-go from the beginning. Since they sought to espouse the liberal cause at a time when Russia was no longer an ally and the action of war had been followed by the reaction of "peace," these GUARDIAN editors found themselves sniped at from all directions by the sort of people who become crusaders to wipe out a Nazi menace and come home infected with a Nazi virus.

From week to week I expected to see that the GUARDIAN had folded, but it kept valiantly in its shallow trench, holding the line of progress and giving the side of any controversy which the daily press couldn't seem to get around to in the rush of reporting the day's murders, suicides, witch-hunts, rapes and divorces.

BAFFLED FLATFEET: The immigration agents asked if I thought Belfrage was a member of the Communist Party. Having been slugged with that rabbit punch myself many times, I replied I didn't think so. Since he didn't have his final citizenship papers, what would be the sense of putting his head in that sort of noose, I wanted to know, especially with the McCarran Act making membership in the Communist Party a deportable matter for aliens?

"Were you born in America, Mr. Scully?" asked one of the agents, hoping I suspect to add one more victim to his department's dossier.

"Hell no," I cried. "I'm a New Yorker!"

They looked at each other, obviously baffled, and then decided it was time to give up the man-hunt.

THE SCARLET DOOR: I led them to the front door and on the way out asked them what party **they** belonged to. They said they didn't take part in politics.

"Why not?" I wanted to know. "You didn't lose your rights as citizens when you joined the immigration service."

They smiled as teachers do on being instructed by an over-bright student.

"Well, if you move into this district," I warned, "I'll be ringing **your** doorbells instead of your ringing mine. I'm still the elected leader of Hollywood and I'm still looking for votes."

With this they looked suspiciously at my red front door.

"Color of cardinals," I explained. "And martyrs."

SMALL, BIG DIFFERENCES: After they had gone I thought of my own differences with Cedric Belfrage. They were so small and so big they have never been a source of irritaton between us. He probably believes that "the kingdom is of this earth" while I follow the Founder of Christianity who said, "My kingdom is **not** of this earth." Cedric has always respected me as a Catholic, and a Democrat, and whenever he has met my sort he has been warm in his admiration of them.

He is the sort you would trust with your life, and if you would trust him with your life it's silly to talk about deporting him because some one **thinks** he wants to overthrow the country by force and violence. There are people in office whom I have seen trying to overthrow the American constitution by force and violence and I have lived under their administrations, but nobody has ever talked of deporting **them.**

MY SOLUTION: I'm sure Belfrage and I are fighting for many of the same things. We detest inequality, injustice and power-mad mountebanks. I think social justice can be advanced faster by application of the Pope's encyclicals on these matters, and he probably thinks otherwise. My quarrel with Communists is my quarrel with capitalists. They are both primarily after material gains. What happens to their souls they think is nonsense because, as materialists, they don't believe in souls. Both of their party lines change frequently, so that's why I believe more good will be served by trying to bring the Ten Commandments into the market place.

The Belfrage deportation hearings reopen Tues., Sept. 7, at 9 a.m., Immigration Service Bldg. (8th floor), 70 Columbus Av. (63d St.), N. Y. C. GUARDIAN friends are urged to attend, any-time on this and/or the next 3 days.

Remembering how our Lord, for convenience, reduced the Ten Commandments to two for the Scribes and said the second, which involved loving one's neighbor as one's self, was like unto the first, I may have a solution for the Belfrage Case.

GOOD NEIGHBOR NEEDED: I suggest that the immigration department deport him from Ellis Island to Whitley Heights, Hollywood, and parole him in my care and me in his. There is a lovely house next to ours. It has been empty for two years, due, I suspect, to the smog, fog, grog and hog-eat-hog that seems determined to make Los Angeles the Carthaginian ruins of the New World. I would like Cedric Belfrage to help in the fight to win back fresh, clean air for 4,000,000 people.

That empty house needs a good neighbor, one with courage and social vision, and I cannot imagine a better neighbor to be living there than Cedric Belfrage.

'Seeds of Destruction'

A new book by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

The inside story behind Sen. McCarthy's determination to deport the *Guardian*'s Editor, a "man who knows to much."

CEDRIC BELFRAGE went to post-war Germany with the first team under American command to clean up Hitler's mess in a key sector, the press. This is his account of what he and his associates did and of how their work began to be sabotaged before the end of 1945.

Last year McCarthy summoned Belfrage to answer what amounted to charges that he was a Russian agent in following Gen. Eisenhower's directives to democratize the German press. McCarthy refused to permit Belfrage to tell the real story; instead demanded his immediate deportation.

BELFRAGE and the GUARDIAN are now fighting the deportation attempt. The story McCarthy sought to suppress is now told in this newest of Belfrage's many noted books, written on a Guggenheim Fellowship, published by Cameron & Kahn. This is a book you will want not to miss, an "inside story" you can and should pass on to your friends. It lays bare the starting point of the intrigues for a new war, so recently exposed by Dr. Otto John, West Germany's "J. Edgar Hoover" (see p. 7). All proceeds go to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund. Off the press this month.

ORDER NOW—USE COUPON BELOW

BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK FUND
17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Send me postpaid ...... copies of "Seeds of Destruction," by Cedric Belfrage (Cameron & Kahn; 256 pp.; $1.50). Books will be sent as soon as they are off the press.

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Your additional contribution to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund is needed now and will be deeply appreciated. ($....... enclosed.)

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES MEETING AT EVANSTON

Clergy of 48 nations urge co-existence

By Cedric Belfrage

SINGING "each in his own tongue" such worldwide hymns as "All People That on Earth Do Dwell" and "In Christ There Is No East or West," 1,500 delegates, accredited visitors and consultants in an assortment of colorful robes opened the World Council of Churches' second assembly at Evanston, Ill., on Aug. 15. Founded in Amsterdam in 1948 to promote more united action among different Christian sects, the Council chose as theme of its assembly to bridge theological rifts: "Christ, the Hope of the World."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S HROMADKA
Help comes through love

Those attending represented 170 million members of 161 denominational bodies in 48 countries.

Outstanding Western delegates included Lutheran Bishop Eivind Berggrav, who led 701 of Norway's 740 pastors out of their pulpits in defiance of Nazi puppet Quisling in World War II; anti-Nazi Martin Niemoeller, who while critical of E. Germany has been a leading campaigner for a united, peaceful Germany; and U. S. Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, recent witch-hunt victim who is one of the Council's five presidents.

"THE GREAT SCANDAL": Delegates differed on whether the assembly theme should be interpreted to stress the after life or the "social gospel" to improve this one. From the rostrum backed by blue drapery with the Greek word *Oikumene* (referring to the ecumenical or church unity movement), Oxnam made the latter emphasis. He repudiated any state's right to demand citizens' conformity to any philosophy, but said the churches must also face up to "the exploitation of man by man" and seek "concrete means" to make brotherhood a reality.

The discussion of evangelism brought out that newly-freed Asian nations no longer want dictatorial missionaries but "advisers" acting as equals. The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Mays, pres. of Morehouse College, Atlanta, said the modern church was "crucifying Christ anew, this time on a racial cross." Reporting for the Council commission on inter-group relations, he said it could find

> ". . . no support for this practice of segregation based on race, color or ethnic origin in the Bible. . . . There is no scientific basis. . . . One world conference after another has condemned racial segregation in the church, yet segregation remains the great scandal in the church, especially in the U. S. and S. Africa."

PEACE ON EARTH: President Eisenhower, wearing academic robes, offered the delegates "a proposal to stoke the fires of practical action with the coals of prayer" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 8/20). He said the U. S. was "sometimes thought to be too ready to adhere to material values," but pointed to the increased church attendance (the President himself began assiduous church-going after he took office) and sale of Bibles.

Blessings from on high

Speaking to 1,300 churchmen from 43 nations atending the 3rd plenary congress of the Intl. Council of Churches, Dr. Allan A. Macrae, Pres. of the faculty of Faith Theological Seminary here, advocated dropping an atomic or hydrogen bomb on the Kremlin within 10 years as a means of destroying Communism and "preventing the deaths of millions . . . with the loss of a comparatively few thousand men."
—UP story from Elkins Park, Pa., Aug. 10

The **Monitor**, almost the only U. S. daily to cover the assembly adequately, said it found delegates fundamentally agreed and ready to affirm that

> ". . . war is not inevitable. . . . East and West must live side by side. . . . This co-existence must include halfway meetings in which the sources of tensions are dissolved where possible. . . . [Most delegates were] convinced that mutually beneficial exchange of goods and persons, cultures and ideas should be fostered. Competition between ideologies . . . should replace conflict by ideology groups."

O. F. Nolde, director of the Commission on Intl. Affairs, said he hoped for a "whole new peace move" in which Christians would "clearly state the moral and spiritual principles involved when international argument reaches the realm of religious precepts." Speakers "scoffed at the idea that a hydrogen bomb makes war impossible"; it might well be used "in desperation"; "nuclear power should be harnessed and all lands should benefit."

HUNGARY'S BERECZKY
Madam X was faceless

On Aug. 25 the Rev. Michio Kozaki, moderator of the United Church in Japan, formally presented to the assembly a church-sponsored petition signed by 33,000 Japanese youth demanding a ban on further use of or experiments with A- and H-bombs.

THE WELCOME BROTHER: The press generally, with an assist from Congressional witch-hunters, concentrated on the presence of 10 delegates from socialist countries. Reports that the State Dept. "thought" Hungary's Bishop John Peter was a Russian spy or "Communist informer" were featured; Peter's visa denied him the right to talk to the press or engage in any activity outside the assembly. The assembly greeted him with warm applause when Britain's Rev. George Appleton, introducing him, said: "We welcome him here in brotherly love."

Peter said the agreement with Hungary's government, which still subsidizes the churches, guaranteed freedom of church activities, but that the churches must not bow to any governmental system; they are not bound up with any social system and should everywhere "voice this independence more courageously."

The Rev. Dr. Guenter Jacob of Cottbus, E. Germany, said the situation of E. German Christians had been easier in the past 18 months but that communism and Christianity were irreconcilable: the churches were hampered by compulsory Marxist teaching in schools, limiting of possibilities for missionary work and dependence of all professional life upon government offices. (The CSM, assessing the Council's work, said the "most dramatic" of the moves it had inspired to win new Christians was the recent E. German "Kirchentag," the "largest Christian gathering ever recorded.")

"I LOVE THEM": Former missionary to China Rev. Charles C. West said communism had "gripped the imagination and changed the lives of millions of Chinese youth" and was "the first power in centuries which had given China relatively incorrupt and efficient government." Czechoslovakia's noted theologian Dr. Joseph Hromadka stoutly maintained Christianity and communism could prosper side by side. The Baptist **Watchman-Examiner** (8/26) expressed "deep embarrassment" at attacks on Hromadka as a Communist, quoting him as saying:

> "Every sermon I preach is a criticism of Communist ideology. . . . [But] Christ demands that I live among Communists. I love them. I cannot help the people unless I love them."

Argentine Methodist Bishop Uberte Barbieri attacked the Roman Catholic attempt to maintain a 300-year-old "religious Iron Curtain," mentioning Catholic assaults on Protestantism in Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Paraguay and Colombia. Spanish Evangelical Church pres. Dr. Gutierrez-Marin described the "uninterrupted attacks" on Protestantism by the Catholic hierarchy, said it was a "miracle" that Protestantism survives in Spain. Assembly attendance by Catholic observers was banned by Chicago's Cardinal Stritch.

FOLEY SQ. SHARPSHOOTING: Meanwhile the House Committee on Communist Aggression began a special session in New York's Foley Sq. to embarrass the assembly delegates from socialist countries, publicizing testimony from refugee Hungarian churchmen (one said the church in Hungary had "gone underground" and now had "secret services"). Rep. Alvin Bentley (R-Mich.) invited Hungarian Bishop Bereczky, who had told the assembly his country had full freedom of worship, to come and testify under oath; the Hungarians at Evanston said this was "unworthy of reply." (Hungary's Protestant churches publish a regular newsletter in English about their activities: **Hungarian Church Press**, Abonyi-u. 21, Budapest.) Movie actress Ilona Massey said letters from Hungary showed it was "an unhappy land"; "Madam X," testifying behind a screen, described how she was raped by Russian soldiers in 1944.

The Committee's chairman, Republican Rep. Charles Kersten (Wis.), last month announced in Madrid that on his return he would urge establishment of an "international criminal tribunal to try Red leaders for international crimes." On Aug. 9 the Committee called peaceful co-existence a "Communist myth," urged Eisenhower to call a "conference of free world nations . . . looking to a complete break with Communist countries."

The freedom to read in Eisenhower's America

TO test the status of "freedom to read" in witch-hunt America, the Miami **Herald** sent staff writer Adon Taft out with a photographer to read the London **Daily Worker** on the streets and see what happened. Taft is the paper's church editor and "probably has as great a dislike for Communists and communism as anyone in Miami." This was the result, as told in captions of a **Herald** picture story (6/13):

1. STARES OF PASSERSBY were fixed disdainfully on me as I read the London Daily Worker down on Pier 5 at Bayfront Park the other afternoon. A few barbed remarks came with the dirty looks.

2. CALLED TO THE SCENE by somebody who was disturbed by the sight, the patrolman on the beat approached me. "Hey, you can't read that paper here," he said. He looked as if he meant it, too.

3. CROWD'S ATTENTION focused on the hassle. Fingers pointed, there were more dirty looks. Someone queried, "A Commie, eh?" Someone else exclaimed, "Well, I've heard of them, but I never thought I'd see one!"

4. "I'LL RUN YOU IN if you don't get over in the park," the officer declared. "They don't want you hanging around here reading that paper!" I feebly protested there's nothing the matter with just reading a paper.

5. STOPPED BY CAPTAIN of one of the boats as I was leaving the pier by request, I got another invitation from him. "Why don't you go back to Russia?" he suggested. "You can't go around reading that paper over here!"

6. I WALKED OFF when there was a threat to dampen my spirits on the assignment. "You must be crazy, reading that around here," the boat captain said. "They're liable to throw you in the bay!" I believed him.

7. "CAN'T STAND THERE," the policeman at the corner of Miami Av. and Flagler St. told me after a suspicious news vendor called him over from directing traffic. "You'll have to move on," he added firmly.

8. "I'M JUST READING the paper," I protested. I wondered aloud if there was anything wrong with that. "You can't stand there," the officer repeated. "Now do you want to move on or do I run you in?" I protested further.

9. "ALL RIGHT, COME ON," he said, taking me by the arm and leading me away. "You're making a scene. I'm taking you in for loitering." He cooled off as we walked up the street and turned me loose with the warning to stop standing around on street corners.

ALDON TAFT AND OBJECTING COP
Take that thing out of here

ANTI-SEGREGATION RULING

25 towns obey Supreme Court ruling this month; New Mexico opening calm

TWENTY-FIVE towns and cities and one county in Arkansas, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and W. Virginia have announced white-Negro public school integration this month, an incomplete tabulation by the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People discloses. Dist. of Columbia public schools for the first time will also be open to Negro and white alike. These will be the first concrete results of the U.S. Supreme Court decision last May 17 outlawing jimcrow public schools. The suits were brought by Clarendon County, S. Carolina, Negro parents and children, with help from the NAACP.

Columbia and Kansas City, Mo., and Wilmington, Del., enrolled Negro students this summer in formerly all-white schools. Kansas City Teachers' College will be open to Negroes in October, the board of education having planned to end jimcrow in public summer schools, integrate vocational and junior colleges this fall, and to complete the process throughout the educational system by Sept., 1955.

END OF AN ERA: The St. Louis plan specifies integration of the two teachers' colleges and the handicapped childrens' schools now; high schools next February, and elementary by next September. Jimcrow will be barred this fall at the University of Missouri

Herblock in Washington Post
"Sometimes we almost feel like giving the kids a break."

(Columbia, Mo.) and at its School of Mines in Rolla.

Baltimore this month will end jimcrow schools, as will Monongalia county, W. Va. Fayetteville, Ark., for the first time will enroll Negro and white students in all high schools. Middle Tennessee State College, University of Arkansas, Hardin Junior College of Midwest University in Texas, the two teachers' colleges in D. C., the nine state colleges in W. Va., and several colleges and universities in Missouri, will be open to both Negro and white for the first time this fall. Municipalities in New Mexico, California, Arizona, and Pennsylvania which jimcrowed public school children on a local basis will end it this month.

The Supreme Court ruling affected public schools only; but a number of private Southern schools have taken the cue to end segregation—a vacation bible school run by Parkersburg, W. Va., Baptist Church; Catholic schools in Roanoke, Arlington, Fairfax and Falls Church, Va., and the four Catholic high schools in Richmond.

'BIBLE' DIEHARD SWAMPED: Complaints by white parents, following announcement of school boards' desegregation plans, were few and scattered; the NAACP reports no trouble caused by either school children or college students resulting from integration plans. Clarkton, Mo., and Sheridan, Ark., school boards seversed decisions to integrate immediately when white parents protested.

In Hobbs, N. M., first U.S. community to put the high court decision into practice at the regular fall session, "the peaceful opening of the school year was a triumph of civic stability over the activities of a Baptist preacher who contended that desegregation ran counter to the Bible" (N.Y. Times, 8/31). Negro mothers, "without evident concern," went with their small children to the schools where until now they had been forbidden. Many of these mothers, as did most of the town's 1,500 Negroes, migrated to Hobbs from the deep South, where jimcrow is an element of "the American way of life."

Freedom & violins

Freedom inherent in U.S. citizenship has been interpreted as the freedom of a person to ignore all the functions of a citizen, to let the government do just as it pleases, provided it doesn't rouse the citizen to exert himself. . . . Freedom is not a commodity which we can judiciously store up and then rest content that we have enough for the rest of our lives. It must be put to use incessantly or it will mean nothing.

It is similar to the dilemma in which the directors of the Smithsonian Institution found themselves. They were able to obtain an almost priceless collection of violins, but they found to their horror that the violins were deteriorating, even with the best of care. Finally, an expert whom they consulted told them that the violins would continue to deteriorate unless they were played regularly. Now the public is treated to the pleasure of hearing, at regular intervals, some of the world's best violins played by expert violinists at concerts arranged by the Smithsonian Institution. It is the only way that the Institution can keep that which it has.

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—**Baptist Watchman-Examiner,** Aug. 26.

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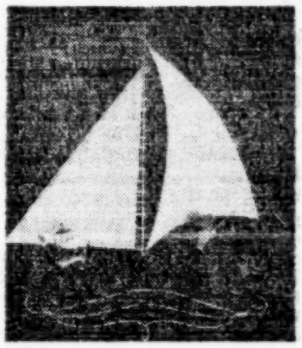

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Night Court New York

715 'undesirables' picked up in 'crime wave' roundup ---the prisoners, the magistrate, the spectators, the law

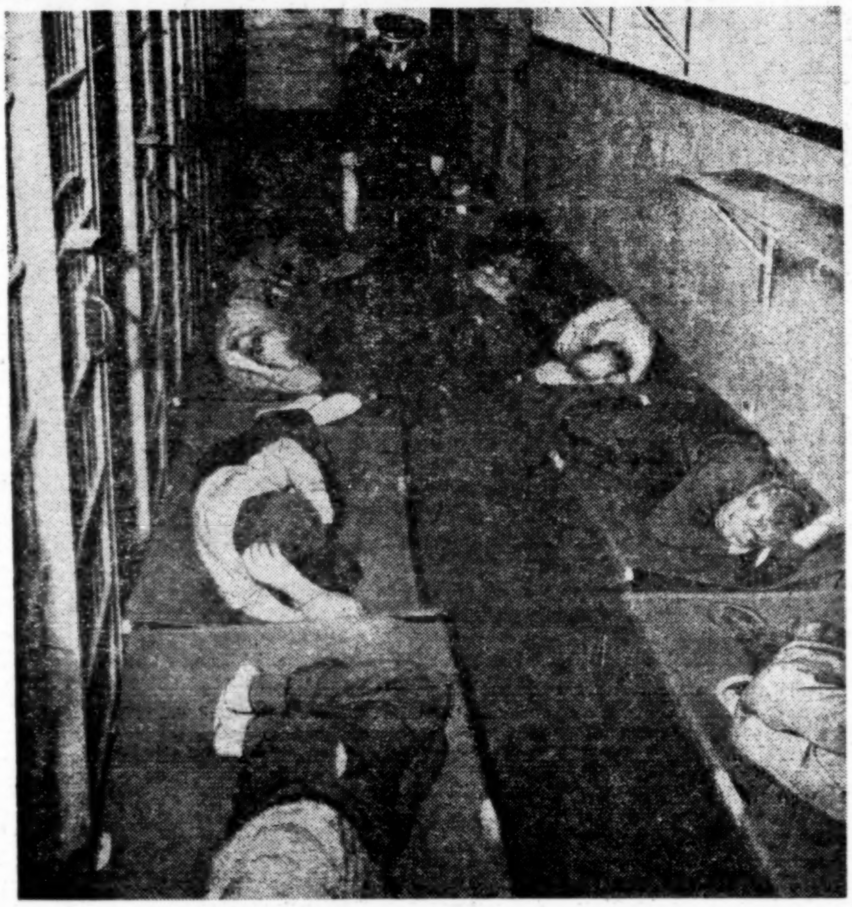
By Elmer Bendiner

CENTER ST., Manhattan, at midnight on a Saturday night is dark and empty. Once a turreted medieval pile of blackened stone called the Tombs, the city's most forbidding prison, dominated the street south of Canal. It has been torn down and a skyscraper built in its place. Huge metal gates with narrow peepholes preserve the dungeon atmosphere of the new Tombs, giving it a sleek, high-powered medievalism.

High up along the prison's walls, bridges join it to the court house, at 100 Centre, another skyscraper. Last Saturday only a few lights showed in the building one flight up where night court was in session and where police brought their week-end haul of alleged potential criminals. (Last week they came up with a record catch of 715 "undesirables.")

They land in the net

This is a scene in a jail in New England. The men sleeping in the corridors are jobless. These are the kind of people who fall in the net of police in a "crime" roundup.



FULL HOUSE: In front of the courtroom an electric sign reads: "Magistrate—gamblers." Inside the chamber there was standing room only. Every spectator's seat was taken. When a person rose to go, others scrambled down the aisle as in a movie house to get a seat closer to the judge's bench. There were youngsters on dates, polishing off an evening, looking for thrills or laughs; women in evening gowns and stoles; businessmen apparently taking out-of-towners on tour.

The show was a parade of unfortunates and the public strained eagerly to catch every word of abuse that some man allegedly used to someone else's wife on a street corner. Policemen in uniform and out brought their prisoners from the pen, few of whom seemed even remotely connected with a crime wave.

FLOTSAM: There was a seaman with one arm paralyzed, caught drinking from a half-gallon wine jug on the street; two Puerto Rican boys caught fighting (someone had told the police they used knives, but the policeman said he could find none); a woman who took a cab without having the fare. (The meter read 50c when the cabbie drove her up to a police station.)

Magistrate Vernon C. Riddick, a tired-looking Negro man, had little to say either to the endless stream of troubled people the police led before him or to the well-dressed audience who viewed him as a star in a drama. Occasionally the crowd laughed at a prisoner's wisecrack, or when a drunk with a suspended sentence winked at them and weaved out of the room. Then the judge would rap for order.

"THE SHOW'S OVER": To the woman who said: "You didn't ask me was I working. I ain't had a job in months," he said nothing. To the seaman who hadn't been to sea in seven months and was brought in without shoes, charged with lying drunk in the streets "to the annoyance of passersby," the judge said only: "Stay away from the whiskey . . . thirty days."

Once the judge bawled a policeman out for arresting an old man for annoying people in the subway; he explained to the judge he was only asking directions to reach a particular train.

Sentencing seemed automatic. Few pleaded innocent to the charge against them (it would mean finding a lawyer and bail money). If the guilty-pleader to a minor offense had no record the judge suspended sentence. If he had been picked up two or three times the sentence was 30 days.

The parade went on for hours until the weary magistrate called for a recess and the court attendant went down the aisle saying: "Show's over for tonight, folks."

NO HOODLUMS: The weekly round-ups, hailed by press and public officials as driving hoodlums off the streets, seemed to show just the reverse. Each week-end's dragnet since the drive began has brought in more instead of fewer "undesirables" from the streets. The question was: did the dragnet reach the criminals and was it likely to? Sunday's police statistics in Manhattan seemed typical: 70 brought in for violating park regulations (mostly for being found in a park after midnight); 35 for playing cards in the street and 10 others for fighting; 69 for loitering, begging or using loud and abusive language; 7 for selling liquor after hours.

Most of those tagged "undesirable" and put through the week-end court mills plainly needed help they were unlikely to get in court. Sunday's serious offenders in Manhattan included 13 charged with burglary or breaking and entering; nine for degeneracy and one for rape.

HARLEM "EXPERIMENT": That catalogue of offenses did not look like a crime wave any more than the parade in night court resembled hardened criminals. Still wide of the target, police with great fanfare invaded East Harlem (a whole rookie class of 250 went on the streets along with the regulars) and thereby lent official approval to the slander that the seat of the city's violence lay in this impoverished neighborhood of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. (Officials admitted that statistics proved otherwise, insisted they had picked East Harlem as an experiment in law enforcement, not because it needed policing more than other areas.)

The courts and police shed little light on the problem of why youths joined armed gangs or why grown men and women were exhibiting an unprecedented taste for violence.

IS THIS A GENERATION-ON-THE-LOOSE?

Three of the four Brooklyn boys who killed, beat and drowned for "thrills" are shown with Asst. Dist. Atty. Lewis Cohen examining the whip they used to lash two girls. Shown (l. to r. standing) are: Melvin Mittman, 17; Jerome Lieberman, 17; Jack Koslow, 18.

KIDS WITHOUT SHOES: Glimmers of light came from other sources. The schools were criticized freely, with progressive methods and teachers bearing the brunt; but one small announcement of the Board of Education's Bureau of Attendance shed a new light on truancy. The Bureau said some 5,000 children each year stay out of school from two days to two weeks because they lack shoes or other clothing. (The Bureau blamed this on "unscrupulous parents" who "squandered" relief checks instead of buying shoes for their children.)

Other statistics gave glimpses of a tortured generation that mass round-ups are unlikely to remedy. The N.Y.C. Youth Board reported that of every 1,000 youths in the city from 5-20 years old, 24 are registered with social agencies as "problems" or "delinquents." The Jewish Board of Guardians' Dr. Herschel Alt said that of 45 million children in the country, 12 million do not live with their natural parents.

NOMADS: All across the country each year there wanders an army of homeless boys, some as young as seven. They travel on foot, on their thumb or in box cars. Herman Stark, director of the California Youth Authority, reports an average of 2,000 homeless boys end up in California every month.

When they're picked up in some states police give them 50c to keep moving; some pay their way over the state line. In California many are rounded up and four times a year loaded aboard trains and headed east. With them ride youths wanted for criminal offenses in other states. Along the road the boys are dropped near where they say they came from. Stark called them "just loose kids" with no parents.

What social agencies do, other than tabulate this generation on the loose, will be told in forthcoming issues.

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THE WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

Old ILA certified as agent on N.Y. docks after long fight

GAY TIME AT THE CAPTAIN'S TABLE

ILA pres. Capt. Wm. V. Bradley and dockers use sign language and grins to celebrate their union's victory. ILA won NLRB certification after year-long struggle.

LAST Christmastime New York longshoremen voted to stick with their union, the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. Last week, after 11 months of monkey-wrench-tossing and bulldozing by government, press, radio and American Fedn. of Labor leaders, the ILA was certified.

Gov. Dewey and the AFL leaders had succeeded in nullifying the first vote by charges of intimidation before the Natl. Labor Relations Board. In a second election last May the ILA won again 9,407-9,114, but 666 other ballots were challenged. Once again the Governor's office, AFL raid leaders and NLRB officials threw up roadblocks to keep out the ILA.

UNCONTESTED CHALLENGE: The dockers had been without a contract since Sept., 1953; pay raises were long overdue and a backlog of beefs had piled up on the docks. Anti-ILA forces counted on time to defeat the ILA.

At an NLRB meeting last week the ILA cut through the knots by yielding instead of contesting all the challenges. Of the 666 ballots in doubt, 491 had been cast by hatch bosses. Though these had been considered eligible workers in all previous elections, the ILA said it would go along with the AFL position invalidating them. The remaining 175 had been challenged by the AFL on many grounds, such as mis-spelling of names in the registry.

The ILA said it would not contest any of those challenges either. That left the NLRB with no further excuse for delay, and the ILA still had its lead of 236 votes. The Board had no choice but to name the ILA as port bargaining agent.

A CALL TO JOHN L.: The ILA celebrated quietly. Its president Capt. William V. Bradley applauded the dockers who had to "overcome the politician and grasp the true picture of lies created by the AFL." Then he reportedly telephoned word to United Mine Workers pres. John L. Lewis, who in the last turbulent year had entered the city's waterfront picture. Lewis had helped the ILA with funds and probably some expert tactical advice. The tugboat men had gone over to the UMW, and it was commonly supposed that ultimately the rest of ILA would find its way there too; but for the moment the dockers had before them their original adversaries, the shipowners.

Last Sept. the shipowners offered an 8½c package including 6c in wages, 2c for a welfare fund and ½c for arbitration machinery. ILA struck for 10c in wages and 3c for a welfare plan. Then they were hit by Taft-Hartley injunctions, a raid, and new elections.

The wage question did not come up until the union was on strike again in March, when the shipowners offered 8c in wages and 2c for welfare. The union turned that down, stayed on strike.

THE MONKEY-WRENCH: On Aug. 31 the 95-member ILA Wage Scale committee drew up demands to be taken to the shipowners immediately. These included last year's demand of a 13c package retroactive to last October (which could mean $200 in cash to every longshoreman in the port). That would bring the union up-to-date, the spokesman said, but for the two-year life of the next contract they would ask more. The union will also negotiate for a guaranteed 8-hour work day and a union shop clause that would in effect end the AFL raid by requiring all longshoremen to join the ILA or lose their jobs.

The AFL raiders, newly christened in convention as the Intl. Brotherhood of Longshoremen, promised more monkey-wrenches and more warfare. For a monkey-wrench the AFL's allies in Albany indicated they would try to persuade the shipping assn. to hold off a contract for another year so that the IBL could try again in another election.

For warfare the IBL threatened to picket the Moore-McCormack line at pier 32, North River, for alleged discrimination against AFL machine driver Wm. McMahon. It was a similar picket line for McMahon that touched off the 29-day strike last March.

HOMECOMING: Meanwhile the first defection from the IBL since the ILA certification occurred when the officers of Cargo Repairmen's Local 8 voted to return to the ILA so "the membership will be able to survive." Local 8 was the first to leave the ILA when the AFL raid started.

The N. Y. **Post**, which had joined all other big dailies in their assaults on the ILA, last week wrote an editorial surrender: "It's all over, including the shouting. Reformers and saviors of high type and low can now retire, leaving the men who man the docks exactly where they were a year ago."

A CLEANER HOUSE: In fact, though, the docks had changed greatly in one year. "King" Joseph P. Ryan had gone and John L. Lewis had come. The men had tasted victory in a battle against gigantic odds. The gangsters had taken a back seat and for the first time a housecleaning seemed likely in the only place it could ever be done—inside the house.

The ILA was in its best position in years to take on first the shipowners and then the vast regimentation and finger-print scheme saddled on them by reformers.

ALP Convention — Sept. 23 in N. Y.

The American Labor Party last week announced plans for its nominating convention, Sept. 23 at Manhattan Center. Delegates are to meet at 6:30 and name the slate for state-wide offices, adjourn at 8 to the grand ballroom for a public rally that will touch off the campaign. Rally tickets (49c gen. admission) went on sale at ALP clubs.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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1882—A LONG MARCH; 1954—A LONG WEEK-END

N.Y.'s first Labor Day saw 20,000 workers marching under these slogans: "Pay No Rent"; "Indications Are That Nov. 7 Will Be A Cold Day For The Politicians." Labor Day, 1954, will see few parades. It winds up a worried labor year in which the average wage boost was 5c. Strikes were longer, tougher than in recent years amid fears of lockouts, unemployment and a legal offensive from Washington. The fight-back shaped up with three recent strikes in rubber, lumber and non-ferrous mining and smelting.

THE BROOKLYN RUNAWAY

Amer. Safety Razor guarantees 750 jobs till May; union gets nine months to rally public opinion

THE would-be runaway American Safety Razor Co. was being held in check last week by its workers. The company some months ago announced plans to leave Brooklyn for a new plant in jimcrow, low-wage Staunton, Va.

Resistance in the shops, led by the 1,000 members of Local 475 United Electrical Workers, put a brake on company plans, forced it to guarantee at least 750 jobs in Brooklyn until May 27, 1955. The union is using its nine months' reprieve to rally public opinion against the runaway. Brooklyn political leaders were being mobilized against ASR plans. Rep. John J. Rooney (D-N.Y.) read into the Congressional Record his "fervent hope that any plans for the removal of the [ASR] plant will be abandoned."

A THREAT TO ALL: City Magistrate Victor L. Anfuso, a Democratic candidate for Congress, in a statement to the press said: "In New York City the problem of runaways is becoming a real threat to our future. In Brooklyn we have witnessed one plant after another move out. . . . The latest of the runaways, the American Safety Razor Co. plant located in the 8th CD, threatens the

entire community of Brooklyn. If successful in its contemplated move . . . it will remove a $5,000,000 annual payroll from Brooklyn's economy. Not only will over 1,400 workers be left jobless in a steadily worsening employment situation, but small business men, professionals—people in all walks of life—will suffer as a result."

Judge Anfuso called for a $1.25 federal minimum wage, immediate investigation of tax concessions to runaways, action by the N.Y. C[illegible] administration to forestall ASR's flight.

"FIRST BREAK-THROUGH": The main resistance still centered in ASR's Brooklyn plant where it began. There the local in long and bitter negotiations had won not only a reprieve but a 5c-an-hour general wage increase, a union

hiring-hall plan, pension and severance-pay agreements. It beat down a company demand for a "co-operation clause" by which the company could have fired any worker who failed to toe the company line on overtime or work quotas. The local saw in that clause a device for beheading militants and held out successfully against it.

A group of Local 475 rank-and-filers vigorously denied they had been forced to yield to company-dictated terms and that the runaway was inevitable. They told the GUARDIAN: "All over the nation working people are coming to regard our struggle at ASR as the first possible break-through in halting this depression-maker tactic of big business."

Since when?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Daily News, Aug. 1, says: "Main difference between Communism and Americanism is that Communists are atheists." So? Does that mean that atheists are verboten in America, or that there are no atheists to be found here? Did all atheists die with the death of Ingersoll? Or are there a hundred or two, a thousand or two left, just as American as Ingersoll or Paine? Since when is an atheist, per se, ipso facto, disqualified as an American? Speaking psychologically, spiritually, I'd say he makes for a better American than any religious sectarian!

Horace Casselberry

4,000 HAVE SIGNED TO DATE

Campaign to transfer Sobell from Alcatraz is on here

ALL summer young couples have been ringing doorbells in downtown Brooklyn's Ft. Green low-income housing project. They carry petitions addressed to James V. Bennett, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C., asking that Morton Sobell be transferred from Alcatraz prison where the U.S. sends its most hardened criminals. Sobell is serving a 30-year sentence as the "other victim" in the Rosenberg Case.

"More than half the people let us in," said one canvasser, an attractive young woman, "if we come in couples—man and woman. People are a little uncertain about opening the door to two men these days." When they hear the Sobell story, none are hostile though some are frightened. Some express sympathy but explain: "I don't sign anything."

"Lots of them do sign," the canvassers said, "because, as they put it, they like to give a guy a chance—especially when he says he's innocent." She once talked for a long time to a man about the horrors of Alcatraz. At the end he said: "I know, I spent five years there." He signed.

WHY NOT BEFORE? Many of them scarcely know about Sobell but remember the Rosenbergs; the canvasser could think of no one she approached who did not say it was a terrible thing that had been done to them. A few recalled the funeral and the grief and shock they felt. One young Negro couple said: "Why haven't you done this before?"

The Brooklyn bell-ringer has gathered 40 signatures in five times out. On a good day she gathered 11 in an hour and a half. The Natl. Comm. To Secure Justice For Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Av. of the Americas, reported about 4,000 signatures to date in the city, with similar success in Los Angeles and Philadelphia where committee workers have canvassed on street corners.

The committee is calling not only for Sobell's removal from Alcatraz, but for a new trial. It has rallied support from public figures including Dr. Harold Urey, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Profs. Linus Pauling and Philip Morrison, many clergymen of all faiths, educators, attorneys, physicians, writers.

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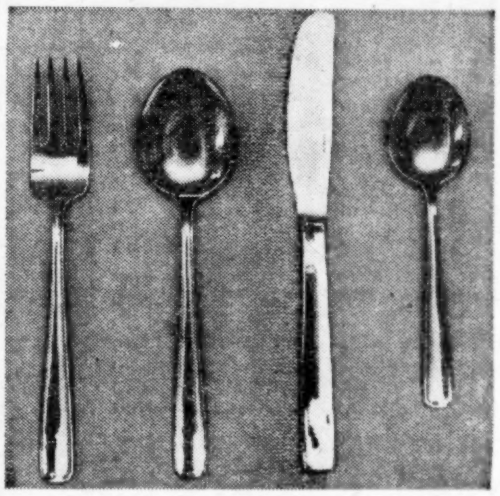

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the SPECTATOR

New American morality

CHICAGO, ILL.

I think it is a big misnomer, a misapplication of words, to call what we have here in America a political system. For the average citizen, politics died with the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima. Since then it seems that America has ceased to think politically. It has ceased to concern itself with any social evaluation.

What we have here is an exclusive concern for our economy, and even more narrowly, with our individual purchasing power per se. As long as that is sustained and even increased, as we have grown to expect in the Cold War boom that has followed on the tail of the hot war expansion, it is a rare American indeed — certainly one bordering dangerously close to thinking and hence to subversion — that questions the wisdom, morality or even the simple humanity of any acts of the ruling groups.

Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post Dispatch
Maybe we need a thinking weapon.

America is a business and the same cold-bloodedness permeates it. As long as our jobs, salaried positions, little businesses, or directorships remain stable; as long as our purchasing power is sustained, it is immaterial and irrelevant to us whether we are working on jet planes, baby carriages, jellied gasoline, ladies' lipsticks, dog biscuits, baby foods or hydrogen bombs.

In America it is not what we make or whom or what it's for, but how much we get paid for it that matters to us. And this is precisely how we view our government—as long as the administration in power can maintain a high level of employment and a high level of wages and profits, it has the "green light" from us: it has a free hand to bomb hell out of the rest of the world, to ring the Soviet Union with bomber bases right up to her door, to starve or feed India, to "test" the actual death-dealing potency of a hydrogen bomb by dropping it on a populous city in China, Poland or England.

The most damning thing about it, the horror that defies any description, is that the whole question seldom, if ever, reaches the level of a political question with us. It never becomes a question imbued with moral passion, with social evaluation, or one considered in the light of its appalling human consequences. It assumes only the character of a financial problem with us. The question being: Can we, rich as we are, afford to finance the destruction of the thickly populated East? And if we do put out the coin, can we be assured that that will guarantee our present standard of living; that is, can we go on trading last year's car for this year's model and will it enable us to watch the fights over a 27-inch, maybe color, TV screen in peace? After all Indo-China's, Russia's and China's people are dead and their cities are smoking radio-active ruins, will the government reduce our taxes? Or will it keep on taking a bigger bite out of our paychecks?

This, as monstrously appalling and distorted as it may seem to the sane mind, is yet the mentality developed by the onslaughts of the Press, the Radio and TV in us, the American people. It is symbolized both by McCarthy and by the publicized "fighters" against McCarthy; in the latter case, by their inverted and abject surrender to him, induced by their frenzy to prove that they are more anti-communist than he is. Certainly there would be no measurable difference in the size of the hydrogen bombs they both would order to rid the world of peoples with different ideas.

Fred Adams

A tribute to Gold

ERWIN, TENN.

In the July 5 issue I see where good old Mike Gold, or his boy, is in arrears in their Guardian Angel pledge. Now, I've long wanted to make some returns to Mike or his folks for their many unselfish deeds, such as writing that wonderful book **Jews Without Money**, and publishing it on a non-royalty basis in 45 languages so the human race and not the author would get the benefit.

So here's a dollar which please credit to Mike Gold's son (or was it papa?) who was asking for an extension. And I hope several more of the GUARDIAN fans will send in more dollars, so we can be assured that Mike has a paid-up subscription for at least 100 years!

Ernest Seeman

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